7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1965 ME1 Lebanon ME1

new constructions. This is not the case—at least, it is not to an observable degree. All the stones used in new building in the village are freshly quarried. Perhaps the reason for this is that nearly all the ruins have recognized owners, nearly all of whom are emigrants or their descendants. Even the villagers now admit that "they will never come back," but their property rights are still maintained, either because the older emigrants hesitate to relinquish their claims or because their American-born children are uninterested, both of which prevent local disposition of the property. However, most of the now ruined houses were of the old style, whose roofs would naturally go to pieces if not tended. Consequently, the roofs were removed so that the very valuable timbers in them could be used for other purposes. This hastened the partial collapse of many of the buildings' walls.

HOUSEHOLD ARRANGEMENT AND FURNISHINGS

Nearly every house has its own cistern (*hâv*), either within the building or just outside it. The water is entirely winter rain water drawn from the roof of the house and conducted to the cistern, nowadays, by sheet-iron pipes. This is much more efficient than the older method of letting the water flow down a shallow vertical trough on the outside of the wall of the building. The cisterns have circular openings raised off the ground or floor on a stone or concrete curbing. The opening is fitted, more or less tightly, with a wooden cover.

It is one of the women's jobs to draw water from the cistern by means of a sheet-iron, European-made, bucket attached to a chain or rope. The water needed for the day is stored in large, two-handled, pointed-bottom jars (*jarra*), of porous earthenware, which stand in wooden frames in the kitchen corner, or the kitchen room if there is one. From the *jarra*, water is transferred to cooking utensils, to the spouted pottery or glass drinking jars (*ibriq*), and to the two to three gallon, semi-cylindrical metal tanks in which washing water is stored. These hang against an outside wall or in the wash room if there is one. The tanks are called *hanafiyyi*, a term primarily applied to the small brass spigots with which they are fitted. The term is derived from the Hanafi school of Muslim jurisprudence which decided that the use of spigots was not a violation of the provisions of the Koran. Near the *hanafiyyi* one usually finds a dish for soap and a towel-rack. A few houses are equipped with hand-pumps, a raised tank, and a limited system of pipes and spigots. This, however, is unusual.

The interior arrangement of the one-room house is essentially the same in every case, although of course there are many minor variations. The following description is composite. On entering the front door, one will observe that the room is divided into two sections, front and back. The division is effected by tall cabinets, with doors and drawers, placed across the room. These are used for keeping clothes, dishes, and so on. This means of division may be supplemented by a curtain. In the front section, a long wooden seat, really a bench with a back and

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The boarding-school, as well as the day-school, students include both boys and girls. The technical school and college students are nearly all boys, most of them at the American University, one in the government normal school, a couple at the government vocational school. All these institutions are in Beirut.

We cannot, unfortunately, be very specific about the "white-collar" class. The chief criterion is that none is a manual laborer, and they were obviously all considered to hold respectable positions. Many are clerks in offices or shops. The most outstanding is an official in one of the government ministries. There are no practicing physicians and no lawyers.

The "city specialists" can be subdivided as follows:

Protestant preacher	1	Seamstress	5
Detective	1	Waiter	3
Fireman	1	Hospital attendant	4
Soldier (sergeant)	1	Janitor	2
Tailor	2	Surveyor	1

The "merchants" consist of members of a single family, plus close village associates, who own and operate a store in Beirut. They have been very prosperous since World War II.

Four of the teachers work in the village itself, but the individuals concerned have not always done so, and the teachers in the village government school have in the past often been outsiders, assigned by the Ministry of Education.

Lastly, it will be observed that over half of the gainfully employed women and girls are medical nurses. The position is one of some prestige in itself. Parents and family prefer it to other jobs because it means that the girl will be under the protection of an institution, and also because it may eventuate in the marriage of the girl to a doctor, a very prestigeful status.

MARITAL STATUS AND OCCUPATION

Table 6, which indicates the marital status of the population between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, reveals certain facts related to occupations. Everyone

TABLE 6. MARITAL STATUS: AGES 15–44

	Men		Women			Men		Women	
Age	Single	Married	Single	Married	Age	Single	Married	Single	Married
15–19	39	0	27	0	30–34	6	9	4	7
20–24	30	1	17	7	35–39	3	4	2	12
25–29	13	8	10	10	40–44	2	14	0	12

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
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are being steadily removed in most Middle East countries at the present time) do not obtrude very much into everyday living in the average household, though they may do so somewhat more among the Muslims than among the Christians. Furthermore, he believes that that bugaboo of American feminists, the female chattel, has been unusual in any culture at any time except under special, hence exceptional, circumstances. The occurrence of such circumstances can be safely predicted only in individual families in a patrilineal system, which are so well off that the women can be relieved of all useful functions except sex. It is only in such families that extensive polygyny (if the culture permits it) is ordinarily to be found, and certainly an unfavored wife in a wealthy polygynous household can even be deprived of the dignity of her sexual role.

In the Middle East village, however, the basic unit of everyday living is the single household. Among the Christians, it is always based on a permanent monogamous marriage, and the probability is that the same is true among the great majority of the Muslims. The very existence of the household, initially and as time goes on, depends upon the active participation of the wife. She is cook, housekeeper, seamstress, nurse, and, above all, mother of the children who, it is hoped, will project the honor of the family into the future. She is *sitt al-bayt*, "mistress of the house," a title which, in Mastiff, used to be given to quite a number of [illegible] girls as their personal name. Such a woman is no chattel, and there are numerous women in the village who, as individuals, are accorded unqualified respect by all.

The average village-dwelling woman works hard and makes no pretense of "hiding her age." She will continue to work hard until decrepitude overtakes her. One occasionally may even see an old woman trudging along bent nearly double under the weight of a bundle of firewood sometimes nearly as large as herself. But if this woman is socially oppressed, it is the increment physical labor enjoined by necessity which is the tyrant and not the hard-heartedness of her husband, her brothers, or her sons, who are as hard-working and work-worn as she is.

As has been noted, the great majority of the Mastiff women are housewives or apprentice housewives. Domestic duties occupy most of their time, but, as will be seen in the next chapter, their regular chores do not prohibit social interaction outside the house. Before the introduction of convenient and relatively inexpensive Western manufactures, the average housewife wove the cloth with which she made her family's clothes. Weaving, like skewmaking, has now completely disappeared from the village which is not exceptional in this respect (cf. Kinlan, 1936, p. 389). A few housewives do ornamental needlework to supplement the family income (cf. Fisher, 1950, pp. 208–09). The forty-four village women who have non-domestic paying jobs certainly represent something entirely new in the village culture. But the jobs themselves are something entirely new, and the writer is unable to say whether or not the women's taking them is in general motivated primarily by necessity rather than by "career girl" ambitions. His impression is that most of the girls feel that their jobs are temporary arrangements before mar-

[illegible] stage. The most popular occupation, evening, is, it will be remembered, preferred because it is "safe," among other reasons.

Perhaps it can be said, as Ibi concluded from a somewhat analogous situation in China (1935, p. 234), that women have more social individualism than they used to have, but to argue that the status of women has or has not been "improved" would, in the present writer's opinion, be tilting at windmills. Ambiguity of one's status and role in life can be harder to bear than, for example, the lack of the legal right to vote.

EMIGRANTS AND EMIGRATION

[16] It is said that there are now as many Lebanese, or persons of Lebanese ancestry, living outside Lebanon as there are inside it (about 1,500,000). However this may be, there are certainly a great many, and the majority are in the United States.

Himadeh (1936, p. 11) points out that emigration from Lebanon started with the Phoenicians, the first Lebanese of whom anything is known, then as now experts in commercial enterprise. Lewthwaite (1966, p. 414) suggests that the primary impetus to the Phoenicians' emigration was the same as that to the twentieth century movement: overpopulation—ninety-three persons per square kilometre in ancient times (Himadeh, 1936, p. 14).

It is estimated that between 1860 and 1960, 330,000 persons left Syria and Lebanon. The climax period was between 1900 and 1914 when an estimated 37,000 per year emigrated (Himadeh, 1936, p. 10). There was virtually none during the war when the country was blockaded. The process was resumed after the war, but with less intensity than before. Most emigration to the United States was gone to Central and South America, West Africa, and Australia.

The original purpose of all the emigrants was to make a good amount of money and then return to the old country. A great many did just this, and in Mamdi were once were reputed of men who came and went several times. The majority, however, remained for good in the new country, most never returning. Although quite a few came back temporarily to the old village for holiday—telling evidence of the force of the principle of local endogamy. A few such cases occurred in Mamdi but were since the 1930's.

[17] It is the writer's private opinion that the emigrants themselves have not contributed a great deal to the process of acculturation in Lebanon, apart from showing the interest of the stay-at-homes beyond their immediate locality. However, the emigrants have contributed substantially to the welfare of the old country which, in 1958 for example, had an adverse foreign trade balance of 4,000,000 pounds sterling (Hanson, 1960, p. 90). This was all set by money from tourists, foreign investments, and remittances from emigrants. The last amounted to $15,000,000, in 1954 (Himadeh, 1956, p. 10).

The people of Mamdi have done their share in the process of emigration.

Farm Organization

The isolated farmhouse, typical of agriculture in the United States, is rarely seen in Lebanon. In the five project villages nearly all farmers live in the del'ah or built-up area. Their wooden plows, harnesses, and other farm equipment are stored each day in their houses in the del'ah. Often a stable is connected to or a part of the living quarters to take care of the family cow or other livestock. The concentration of dwellings in one area in the Middle East often results in a considerable expenditure of time in walking to fields located sometimes two or five miles from the village. In the project villages the land lies in a narrow strip. Farms at the far ends require an hour or more to reach by walking.

The share-cropper or small landowner has a cow or two which he depends on for draft and milk, a simple wooden plow, and a few other simple hand tools. These comprise his capital equipment. The field work is shared by all the members of the family, although in the dry-land farming areas there is a fairly rigid division of labor between the sexes. Plowing is a man's work, while nearly all the women and girls are carrying water from the village fountain.

In the project area no evidence is seen of tractors, harrows, mechanical threshers, or other mechanized farm equipment except on one or two large farms operated by non-resident owners. None of the project villages has electric power. Farm organization is based upon an intensive use of labor rather than capital. Low wage rates and an ample supply of laborers combine to make the use of labor more advantageous than mechanization. In 1952 the prevailing rate for farm laborers was LL. 3 (about 80 cents) for men and half that for women and 12 to 15 hours days.

Most of the project villages have a plot of land called the kaldar where the villagers, about the middle of June, begin to winnow, thresh their grain. Here the wheat or other seed crop is placed after it has been brought from the fields. For month after month in the summer, one finds the oxen pulling behind them a sledge, a flat board the underside of which is furred with protruding stones or jagged pieces of metal. The farmer's wife or a small boy rides on this sled with a whip to the oxen over a layer of grain. In this way the kernels of grain are loosened and the straw is cut into the kaldar. Later in the day the farmer uses a pitchfork to separate the kernels of grain from the straw, the farmer tosses the mixed grain and chaff